

APRIL • 1946

# The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



and I  
used to drive a  
Parcel Delivery Truck!



Official Magazine

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

## **So This Is Free Enterprise!**

**I**N THE big squeeze on Henry Kaiser we see a clear definition of what "free enterprise" means to big business. It doesn't mean free enterprise at all. It means monopoly.

Big business is trying to put Henry Kaiser out of business because he really believes in free enterprise and what big business romantically pictures as "the American way" in its multi-million-dollar advertising campaign.

When big business began spending its millions to say that it wanted to preserve "the competitive system," Henry Kaiser answered those ads.

He entered the automobile business. But the big automobile manufacturers did not believe in the competitive system when it applied to them.

And when Mr. Kaiser signed a union contract, the steel industry decided that wasn't "the American way." So it refused to sell steel to Mr. Kaiser. Without steel, Mr. Kaiser can't build automobiles. Unless he builds automobiles he can't pay the high wages he accepted in his union contract and thousands of Americans will be out of work.

Is that the "American way" big business has been talking about?

When Mr. Kaiser testified before Congress that the OPA had been fair to business as well as to the public, all the monopolies of America joined the fight against him.

In the Kaiser case, free enterprise is actually on trial for its life in the United States. If Mr. Kaiser loses, free enterprise will be dead. We must then face the fact that we are living in a totalitarian economy regimented by the automobile industry, the steel industry and the financiers who manipulate all industry.

Mr. Kaiser is in trouble because he paid the highest wages ever paid in the automobile industry, because he refused to enter into a conspiracy to break organized labor and because he insisted on protecting the wages of all Americans by continuing the OPA.

The federal laws say that industry can't gang up on Mr. Kaiser. The anti-trust laws supposedly guarantee him the right to compete with other industrialists.

Unless the federal government can enforce those laws, the United States will have become an industrial dictatorship.

# The INTERNATIONAL Teamster




Official Magazine

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS  
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

Vol. XLIII

APRIL, 1946

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# Southern Conference is Praised

## President Tobin Sends Eloquent Message to Meeting

The following message was sent by President Tobin to the Southern Conference of Teamsters, which held its three-day, all-important meeting in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, opening on Monday, March 18.

The Southern Conference of Teamsters,  
Mr. Frank Prohl, Chairman,  
Atlanta, Georgia.

Greetings:

I am exceedingly sorry that I cannot be present in person at your conference, but I am sending my assistant, Thomas E. Flynn, to carry to you the message and greetings of our International Union.

First I want to congratulate the members of our organization in the southern states, and especially the representatives to this conference, for the splendid work they have done in recent years towards bringing forward what were for a number of years the backward states in our country in regard to the labor movement.

After the so-called liberation of the colored man, obtained as a result of the shedding of the blood of hundreds of thousands of white men, the colored man was not freed, and neither was the white man in many of the southern states.

Today I am happy to say that there is no distinction, insofar as wages, hours and working conditions are concerned, within the confines and under the laws and rules of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Since the inception of our union we have persistently insisted, and will continue to insist, that the wages paid to the colored

man be the same as those paid to the white man for the same work, and this applies to all female members of our International Union wherever they may be located, and we have now in our membership thousands of this class of workers.

We have always insisted, and will continue to insist that religious and racial prejudice shall not be permitted to raise its ugly head within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters or within the labor movement, if it is within our power to prevent it.

In recent years the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the southern states has substantially increased, due to the efforts of the officers of our local unions and the representatives of the International Union who have been placed in the southern states to devote their time and attention towards this

organizing work.

The remuneration of our members to the International Union does not take care of one-half of the expense of the International Union in this campaign that we have carried on, when it is considered that we have rendered every possible assistance to the southern states—as to all other states—from our legal, legislative, statistical and research departments in Washington.

Whatever we have done in the line of helping to organize in the southern states has been a work of happiness to us, because



Daniel J. Tobin

in lifting up the unorganized individuals working at our craft in the southern states, we are helping to maintain even and just competition between the southern, middle western and northern states.

In talking with senators and congressmen from the southern states, many of whom are unreasonably prejudiced against labor, I have continuously endeavored to impress upon them that if the southern states desire to take their place on equal terms with the northern, middle western and far western states, they must be progressive, and the first step towards that progress should be the establishing and maintaining of decent wages and working conditions, the recognition of law-abiding labor unions and the abolition of prejudice and unfairness such as has obtained towards certain classes of the population for years past and still continues to prevail in many districts in the South.

There should be no North and South, East and West, in our beloved country. We are all Americans who love our nation and who demonstrated on more than one occasion our willingness to give our lives for the purpose of preserving the principles of our nation, which are founded and based on liberty and justice for all.

The trade union movement has done more, in my judgment, to eliminate hatreds and prejudice and to bring new life and sunshine, happiness and education into the homes of the multitude, than any other institution in the nation. I beseech every member of our union to treasure their membership as one of the great gifts obtaining within our beloved country, a gift and a privilege which does not obtain or prevail in many of the countries of the world.

It should be our duty at this conference to pledge ourselves, every one of us, to go out and work for the further progress of our organization. Remember that organization and trade unions are responsible for maintaining the conditions which we now enjoy, conditions which are far superior to what

many of us expected to ever receive in the early days of our membership.

Remember also that should we weaken or set back this union of ours, or lose our interest in its workings, or create dissension, or listen to false tongues preaching false doctrines, the time may come when your union fails to function efficiently. Then you will go back to the days when you were kicked around, abused and starved to death by your employers, who were then and may be again your oppressors.

Remember also that we have plenty of work before us, not only in the political field, to elect those who are our friends, no matter to what party they belong, and to defeat those who would crucify us and who are attempting to destroy the efficiency of the labor movement which has done so much for its membership and their families.

Let us pledge ourselves at this Southern Conference of Teamsters to go forth and spread the doctrine of unity by increasing and intensifying our efforts towards greater organization.

In order to be a part of the International Union, organizations must obey the laws of the International Union and observe the rules and decisions made by that body and its executive officers, even though sometimes it is difficult to understand decisions and laws as explained and interpreted.

Remember that the International officers are just as human as you and your members, and that all of us at one time were drivers or helpers, just as you are, that we have been delegated to carry out certain laws and certain instructions and that we have pledged ourselves, with our hands raised to heaven, to fulfill that obligation and to carry out those laws.

Remember further that in our democratic form of organization it is within the province of the membership to remove any officer, either local or International, who is not worthy to be its representative. But this removal must prevail by observing the laws and rules and conditions laid down in the

constitution of the International Union, which was drafted by those members. A good union man or a good soldier is one who observes the rules laid down and carries out the instructions given to him by his superior officers.

**It is my pleasure and my privilege to make this statement now: that nowhere have I found a greater desire to cooperate and observe decisions and laws than I have found amongst the representatives of our unions in the southern states.**

I am happy to say to you that in the month of February we received the largest per capita tax that was ever received by the International Union. We had a paid-up membership of about 740,000, and about 30,000 initiations. This you will see by my sworn affidavit (on Page 16) in the April issue of our monthly publication, which you should receive in your homes each month, free of charge.

But we still have work to do, all of us. We must always be on the alert. The enemy is waiting at the gates for an opportunity to break through the fortifications of the trade union movement. You, who are men of intelligence and understanding, know this as well as I know it.

You can see the actions and the attempts made to destroy labor in your several states through your state legislature, and you can follow that up and witness what is going on in the halls of Congress, where the enemies of labor, amongst them many representatives from the southern states, are endeavoring to destroy labor by enacting legislation that would take away from labor the privileges, based on justice, which they have won and obtained over a period of 40 years.

The representatives of labor attending this conference must understand that their actions and their leadership may be the means of preserving our unions, thereby preserving the conditions of our membership. Or, on the contrary, their actions or their false leadership, if such should prevail, could destroy the unions and the conditions of the members.

Today the men of labor are equal to the crusaders of old, fighting and struggling to preserve justice, freedom and equality for the masses of the American toilers who are the backbone of our great American nation. As men have died for freedom, let us pledge ourselves to be willing to die for our freedom and for our unions, which are the backbone of our freedom, if we are called upon to do so. But let us also pledge ourselves that we will observe law and order and justice, even though sometimes the laws of the land are unjustly aimed against us.

Let us go from this conference fully determined to keep up this great struggle until we have within the confines of our union, in the interests of humanity, every man and woman in our country, north, south, east and west, who is entitled to membership, under our laws, in our International Union.

My message to you is to go onward and onward, in justice and fearlessness, fighting for the right and determined to bring into the home of our people greater peace, happiness and freedom, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow and as time goes on, until we finally destroy poverty, ignorance, hate, prejudice and injustice in every part of our beloved country.

Fraternally yours,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
General President.

---

It's the people who will pay for more NAM profits if the lobbyists win the battle against price control. The people don't have a million bucks for full-page ads in the papers—but it takes a 3-cent stamp to write a letter to your congressman insisting that he vote for renewal of the price control act now. And, take it from the NAM, letters and wires from the people count with Congress, because they mean votes.—*The Union Times, New Haven, Conn.*

# Political Action Urged in South

## Flynn Tells Southern Conference to Watch Congress

PEARING as the representative of President Tobin and the International Union, Thomas E. Flynn, executive assistant to the general president, attended the

annual meeting of the Southern Conference of Teamsters last month in Oklahoma City.

Mr. Flynn's address to the Teamster delegates from the ten southern states follows:

It is always a pleasure as well as a satisfaction for me to make these regular visits to the meetings of the Southern Conference of Teamsters and to note the steady progress you are making in organizing the South.

Last year, in spite of the problems and uncertainties of the reconversion period, you have shown more progress than any previous year. I congratulate you for that. I hope that next year you can report still greater advancement.

Perhaps you remember many of the matters we discussed at previous meetings as we attempted to look ahead and determine what problems and what conditions the future would bring us. I refer particularly to our concern over the anti-labor campaign we expected would come with the ending of hostilities. We were right. It has come. And because we expected it we have been able to cope with it better in the South.

By organizing the South we are removing the last barriers behind which the anti-labor forces of the nation can hide.

It is no secret that such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers were planning extensive industrial developments below the Mason-Dixon Line, not to benefit the South but in fact to injure it. The motive was to make the southern states an area of free labor, as the industrialists term it. In reality the opposite would have been true.

They aim to make it an area of slave labor almost as absolute as it was in the era preceding the Civil War. But the modern industrial slaves would not have been black

alone. They would have been white as well and they would have numbered all those who work in the new industries of the South under the "American plan" of non-union operation with long hours, low wages and company black lists.

If that is the American plan, then America needs a new plan and America will have a new plan. The wage earners of the country are not going back to the conditions that prevailed prior to the last war. The unions are their insurance against it.

In organizing as rapidly as the Southern Conference has done, you have contributed greatly to the protection of all southern workers. You have made it difficult and soon you will have made it impossible for northern industry to move south as a means of breaking the union wage scales of the country. You are making it possible for the North to maintain its wage scales and to increase yours.

Do not interpret my statement to mean that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has any objection to industries moving south or east or west or north. We don't care where they go as long as they operate under union conditions.

As a matter of fact we want to see industrial growth in the South. Not only will this develop the South but it will provide more work for truck drivers in transporting raw materials and finished products. Anything we can do to help develop the South industrially we are eager to do and we are determined to develop it economically to bring its working conditions up to those in the re-

mainder of the country. Thanks to the efforts of our union in these states, we will succeed.

Under present conditions unions must do more than raise wages in order to raise the living standards of their members. They must keep prices down. It does a man no good to receive a wage increase of 20 per cent if the price of everything he buys increases 25 per cent. Actually it does him harm because it costs him more to live.

The program of the National Association of Manufacturers is to remove all wage and price control. They hope that labor will be deceived by the hope of unrestricted wage increases and forget about the unrestricted price increases.

What the National Association of Manufacturers actually advocates is inflation, with wages and prices in competition with each other.

They know that wages always lose that race and that by the time the crash comes, the NAM members will have piled up sufficient profits to carry them through the period of depression, while working men walk the streets or stand in bread lines.

Therefore, it is essential that the unions keep prices under control if they are to increase their standard of living. The only way to keep prices in check is through the Office of Price Administration. Under Chester Bowles, this federal agency has done a magnificent job in the face of tremendous political pressure.

With congressmen and other politicians clamoring for price increases to give special favors to certain industries, Bowles has held prices as low as any man could have done. It was the united support of labor which made it possible for him to do so. The pressure of the millions of organized workers offset the pressure of organized industries to take the lid off and go on a joy ride with the workers' wages.

It was the determination of labor for price protection that forced the President to give Bowles greater authority, even though at first he put Bowles under John Snyder, the

reconversion director. Snyder is industry's man. He has been opposing Bowles. If Bowles is to succeed further, he must continue to have the same determined backing of labor. Labor has not won the fight for price protection. It must keep fighting or some day we will wake up to find that Bowles has been booted out and industry has taken over.

This is one of the problems that complicates labor leadership today. The union officer today must be more than a business agent. He must be an economist and a politician, because most of the modern labor issues are in those fields. By one stroke of the pen, Congress can put labor out of business.

The passage of the Hobbs Bill and the Case Bill showed that a majority of the lower House of Congress is opposed to labor. You can't cope with that situation by collective bargaining with your employers. Your employers can promise anything and then have their congressmen pass a law that will take it away from you.

The same Congress can pass a law killing the OPA. It would do so if it dared. It will not dare while the people are watching it. It showed its sympathy for the National Association of Manufacturers when the Senate cut in half the appropriation for OPA enforcement.

Therefore, the union official must watch employers with one eye and Congress with the other and he should see that the membership of his union understands the political and economic problems which confront labor.

It is not enough to tell your members that the OPA must be retained and the Case Bill must be killed. You must tell them why, so that they can give intelligent cooperation to their union officials.

You probably understand as well as I do the dangers that face labor in Congress. We know that our enemies are in control and that it is only a matter of time until some law is passed that seriously injures labor, if they remain in control.

Our chance to throw them out of control is in November when all the members of the House and a third of the senators are up for re-election, but to throw them out we must get the labor vote to the polls. First it must be registered so that it is eligible to vote. That should be done at once.

I strongly recommend that every union appoint a political committee to see that every Teamster in the South is registered along with the members of his family and that they go to the polls on election day.

How successful labor can be by concentrating its vote was demonstrated last month in Atlanta when labor elected Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin to Congress, defeating 16 male candidates.

In the South, where nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to election, labor can elect many congressmen by the same procedure followed in Atlanta. They singled out one candidate from a large field and voted for her. And they won.

In consequence, the State of Georgia is now represented by one of those rare specimens—a friend of labor from the South.

Such a proven friend of labor is Congressman Luther Patrick of Birmingham,

Alabama. While labor is seeking to defeat its enemies, it must work just as hard to elect its friends. Congressman Patrick must have labor's support. Our Teamsters' Union in his district cannot afford to let him be defeated. He is entitled to all the help we can give him. He stood with us on the Hobbs Bill and on the Case Bill.

As I stated in the beginning, your progress in the South is a source of great gratification to me. I was one of the original organizers of the Southern Conference, acting under the instructions of President Tobin, and with you I grappled with the early problems. We have survived the difficulties of the organizational period. We are firmly established. We can now go forward and you may rest assured that any help the International Union or I personally can give you will be immediately and enthusiastically given.

You are one of the key pillars of our great International Union and you are supporting the hopes and aspirations of the workers of the South. On you rests, to a great degree, the future of all the working men and women of the United States. I know you will not fail.

## U. S. Last Fortress of Free Enterprise

The United States government is the last stronghold of the free enterprise system. Britain has gone Socialistic. The whole European continent is in the throes of fallen financial giants.

It seems the height of folly for the reactionary forces in this country to maintain the capitalistic system here if the reactionaries alone are to fight for it. The capitalists are small in number and can be bowled over by a mass movement.

The *Labor Herald* does not preach mass revolution but we take this means of warning the management of industry and our lawmakers that if the free enterprise system is to survive, a majority—and a large majority—of the American people will be

needed to aid in making sure of that survival.

Abraham Lincoln said a nation cannot endure half slave and half free. It ought to be equally plain that the world cannot endure half slave and half free. More than one-half the peoples of the earth have already deserted the free enterprise system. The voice which preaches capitalism in the UNO—the only strong voice—is America. How long can this go on?

It is time capital should recognize it is on the verge of extinction. It should put its house in order and produce. It should reasonably share its profits with labor. It should not light a fire to destroy its last great stronghold.—*Baltimore Labor Herald*.

## *Eastern Locals Advertise in Press*

### New York, New Jersey Unions Push Delivery Campaign

A NEWSPAPER advertising campaign urging shoppers to have their packages delivered has been inaugurated by retail delivery drivers' unions in New York City and Newark, N. J.

These are Local No. 804 of New York City and Local No. 177 of Newark.

Both locals are following up the newspaper advertising with direct contact of the customers and education of the individual union members to the importance of increased delivery service.

Local No. 804 reproduced its newspaper advertisement on handbills which it is passing out to customers.

The advertisement of Local No. 804 appears on the opposite page. It was inserted in all the major newspapers of Greater New York.

Following up its newspaper advertising campaign, Local No. 177 of Newark is now handing letters of appreciation to all customers who have their store purchases delivered.

Each time a driver delivers a package he hands the customer a letter which reads:

**"Dear Customer:**

**"I want to thank you for your continued patronage during the war years. When you have your merchandise delivered, it costs you no more, it is more convenient for you, and it provides work for me and my fellow drivers. All restrictions against deliveries have now been removed (in Newark) except that there must be a \$1.50 minimum.**

**"If you will insist on having your merchandise delivered you will be helping yourself and will make sure that I and my fellow drivers, many of whom are returned veterans, will have work to do.**

"Thank you again for your assistance.

**YOUR FRIENDLY DELIVERY DRIVER.  
Local No. 177, International  
Brotherhood of Teamsters."**

Local No. 807 of New York City, while not directly affected by retail deliveries, is giving strong support to its sister locals through the columns of its publication, *The 807 Teamster*. It is making its members conscious of the delivery campaign and its importance in providing jobs for Teamsters, many of them recently out of military service.

Other New York locals are joining in giving aid to the delivery drivers by having their families and friends demand that articles they purchase be delivered.

Such help is of the greatest value to the delivery unions. It will be only through the insistent demand of their customers that stores will resume full scale delivery service.

This demand can be created through union members themselves in sufficient volume to force the stores to act.

That is what Local No. 807 is promoting with excellent results. Already the public pressure, fostered by the Chicago locals, is forcing Chicago department stores to restore pre-war service to their customers.

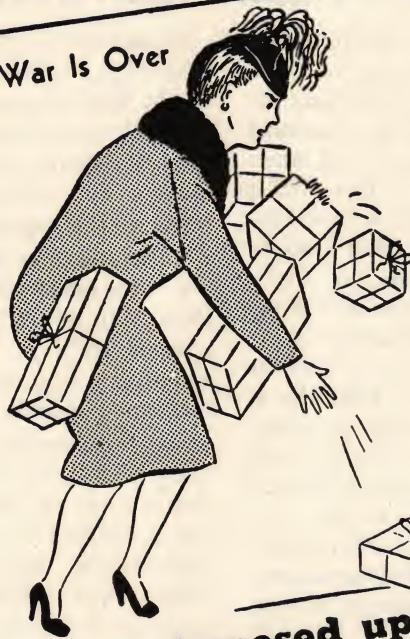
The newspaper advertising of Locals No. 177 and 804 followed the general pattern recommended by International headquarters and used by Joint Council No. 69 of Indianapolis, which pioneered the newspaper advertising campaign last fall.

Since then the Indianapolis stores have relaxed their delivery restrictions in response to the public demand the Teamster advertising created.

The retail delivery campaign is paying dividends in jobs for Teamsters. It should be continued and intensified throughout the country.

# THIS Advertisement APPEARED IN THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS OF GREATER NEW YORK

MADAM: The War Is Over



**Don't be imposed upon!**

It's no longer patriotic to carry home your bundles. It's just plain silly! All restrictions on Department Store Deliveries were lifted last November 1st. Naturally the Stores won't tell you about it—since they charge you for delivery service, and pocket the difference when you don't get it. The mark-up for delivery is the same now as it was before the war — but the service isn't.

In December 1941, exactly 3325 men were employed to make deliveries for 375 stores throughout the city. This included Christmas help. In December 1945, only 1900 men were work-

ing—including Christmas help. Deliveries were made and are still being made by half the number of men it takes to do the job as it was done before the war.

There is no manpower shortage. There are 800 experienced men waiting for these jobs. Yet the department stores still make you carry your own packages—and make you pay for the delivery service you don't get!

Madam, we repeat: the war is over. Don't be imposed upon! Get what you pay for. Demand pre-war delivery service. You deserve it!

**MERCHANDISE DELIVERY DRIVERS AND EMPLOYEES  
Local 804, International Brotherhood of Teamsters**

# Kentucky Raises Limit on Loads

## Teamsters Join in Victorious Fight Against Railroads

KENTUCKY moved out of the horse and buggy highway era when Gov. Simeon Willis signed a bill more than doubling the weight limits and substantially increasing the length of trucks operating in that state.

The bill became law when Gov. Willis signed it, ending a 12-year fight for modernization of the Kentucky highway laws to which the Teamsters' union contributed thousands of dollars in cooperation with the Kentucky Motor Transport Association.

The legislation was bitterly fought by the railroads, anxious to maintain Kentucky as a trade barrier to transcontinental motor traffic. In spite of the railroad lobbyists, the bill passed the House by a vote of 58 to 34 and the Senate by a vote of 28 to 10.

The Teamsters' Union was solidly behind the legislation and worked in close cooperation with truck operators to gain the victory.

Up to the time Gov. Willis signed the bill, Kentucky had the most backward highway laws in the country. It stood at the bottom of the list of states with obsolete laws limiting the weight of trucks to 18,000 pounds, the length of trucks to 26½ feet, the length of tractor semi-trailers to 30 feet, overall height to 11½ feet and prohibiting any combination of vehicles.

The new law increases the weight limit to 42,000 pounds, which is 2,000 more than prescribed by the temporary wartime regulations adopted at the recommendation of the federal government to permit emergency war cargoes to flow uninterruptedly to their destinations.

The legislature approved the same length limits as provided in the war regulations—35 feet for trucks and 45 feet for tractor semi-trailers. It raised the height limit to 12½ feet.

Henceforth motor traffic can flow through Kentucky instead of around it. The war taught Kentuckians the value of standardized highway laws and aroused public sentiment to approve the campaign of the motor industry for a continuance of the liberalized motor vehicle regulations.

Under the new law, effective next January 1, the commissioner of highways is authorized to permit the new weight limits on selected highways. A new schedule of fees was approved by the legislature to cover the modern equipment.

After discovering that they could not defeat the bill and keep Kentucky permanently in the backwoods, the railroad lobbyists attempted to weaken the bill with amendments. One amendment would have reduced the weight limit while another would have taken authority from the highway commissioner and vested in the legislature the power to prescribe which roads the heavier loads could travel.

Both were defeated and the railroads lost forever their stranglehold on Kentucky commerce.

Mississippi now takes the place formerly occupied by Kentucky at the bottom of the list of states in progressive highway legislation. The Mississippi limit is 30,000 pounds although 40,000 is still permitted under the wartime regulations.

Truck operators and Teamsters were jubilant over the success of their joint campaign, which demonstrated again the readiness of the Teamsters to back up their employers with money and effort whenever their help is needed to improve the motor transportation industry.

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We have got to live in this great nation of ours as friends and neighbors, and the atomic bomb has made it absolutely necessary that the whole world live as friendly neighbors.—*The Butcher Workman.*

# Teamsters Win in Minneapolis

## Joint Council Launches Successful Drive on CIO

BY JACK KEEFE

*Editor, Northwest Teamster*

THE Teamster movement in Minneapolis registered a significant victory on March 13 over the CIO Longshoremen's Union, when employees of the mail order department of the Sears, Roebuck & Co. store in Minneapolis voted by a large margin to have the Teamsters' Union as bargaining agent.

The vote was:

Teamsters' Union, Local No. 548,	
Mail Order and Warehouse Employees .....	778
CIO Longshoremen's Union.....	460
No union .....	140

The victory by 318 votes constituted a crushing defeat for the CIO outfit inasmuch as it has been the bargaining agent since May, 1943.

The triumphant drive to organize Sears employees and win the election was a lively, merry affair, put on in high gear by teamwork within Teamsters' Joint Council No. 32. It brought commendation from the entire labor movement in Minnesota and astonishment to the defeated CIO forces.

Not a derogatory remark against the CIO organization was uttered by the Teamster leaders, or printed in Teamster campaign literature. Reflecting the businesslike methods Teamster unions practice in running their unions, the Teamster leaders presented their case with the clarity and pleasantness of a Red Cross campaign.

Despite the fact the opposition tried the shopworn technique of confusion, rumor and disparagement, Teamster leaders hewed to their straight-forward policy of presenting facts. It did this in good humor, while the local stooges of Harry Bridges, in their beetle-browed custom, tried to hold their sagging lines with leather-lunged oratory.

Sidney L. Brennan, International Teamster vice-president, started the successful organizing drive last summer, and worked persistently on it until victory. He was ably assisted by Robert Haun, organizer; Jack Jorgensen, president of the joint council; Harold H. Seavey, secretary-treasurer of the council, and other members of the council. At the suggestion of Mr. Brennan the Teamster's Union office girls distributed the Teamster campaign literature to the Sears employees, and they were excellently received by the employees.

Mr. Brennan opened the drive to organize the Sears employees last summer when he filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for an election among the Sears employees.

At a hearing last September before an NLRB referee, Mr. Brennan and Mr. Seavey presented evidence with the aid of Thomas O. Kachelmacher, Teamster attorney. Mr. Brennan presented signed cards from over one-third of the Sears employees, authorizing the Teamsters' Union as their bargaining agent. The CIO Longshoremen's union objected to the Teamsters' petition for an election. The CIO outfit practically admitted it had not obtained anything for the employees during the two years, but objected to an election on the grounds that it was unable to bargain collectively because of wartime regulations.

The National Labor Relations Board, by a two-to-one vote, Board Member John M. Houston dissenting, granted, in February, the Teamster petition for an election.

The decision pointed out that the CIO union was not prevented by wartime regulations from collective bargaining, but that it failed to take the proper procedure in its

wage contract case with Sears. The decision cited the fact that the CIO union let its wage case rest in the files of the War Labor Board when Sears refused to recognize the CIO union as the bargaining agent. The proper procedure for the CIO union would have been to bring an unfair labor practice charge against the employer.

In effect the NLRB ruling said the CIO excuse for not doing anything for the em-

ployees was phony—that it couldn't hide behind the falsehood that wartime regulations prevented bargaining, and thereby deny the employees the right to freely choose another bargaining agent that would really represent the best interests of the employees.

Since the election victory, the Teamsters are negotiating a contract covering the 1,400 employees.

## Most Strikes Can Be Avoided, and Should Be

BY DANIEL J. TOBIN

**R**EPEATEDLY in the columns of this journal for the past two years, I have advised our members that when the war ended we would run into plenty of trouble between labor and industry, and it will be much worse later on unless work and jobs are provided for those who are returning from the service.

I realize that there is a lot of building to be done, but how many of the people who are in the service can engage in building activities or in construction work? The automobile business will increase in production, but it undoubtedly has sufficient labor now in automobile factories and in closely related employments.

The only condition that I really fear is unemployment, and while it may not be as bad as it was in the years from 1930 to 1934, we will have plenty of unemployment.

Repeatedly I have advised and implored our people not to engage in stoppages of work if it could humanly be prevented. Not long ago some of our members voted to go on strike, in one instance against a government award, and I had to almost threaten the local union with suspension before I succeeded in saving them from themselves, by commanding them to remain at work and accept the award.

Personally I have nothing to lose when a man, or a number of men, quit their jobs, but the individuals and their families lose, industry loses, and in most in-

stances innocent people are inconvenienced.

As I stated before the Labor-Management Conference, the workers are irritable. They have been working long hours, under a strain for the past four years and it is difficult for the average worker to understand the situation confronting the nation and the world. Men must be careful lest they make serious mistakes. While I have often stated there are strikes that cannot be avoided because of the attitude of the employers, most strikes can be settled in conference.

Men elected to office in local unions should not be afraid to tell their individual members, in the interest of those members, when they are wrong and when an offer of conciliation or arbitration is genuine.

Clouds that now hang over the nation will grow blacker and more gloomy, but like all other past experiences of a similar nature, those clouds will pass away, although it may take a year or two before business and labor will reach a basis of honest understandings and decisions.

In the meantime, local union officials and local union members must carry out their duties and must exercise their brains, towards keeping men working and not be a party to serious disturbances of business, by stoppages of work, if they can possibly be prevented, and most of them can by both sides learning the method of "Give and Take."

# Union Wins Bitter Auto Strike

## Second Round Will be Fought in Political Campaign

THE General Motors strike has ended after almost four months of bitter struggle which reduced thousands of union men to actual hunger.

The company signed up at a substantial pay increase and under conditions which guarantee union security. It was a victory for the union. It means that industry has lost the first round in its fight to crush organized labor.

Had General Motors won, it would have been the signal for a nation-wide attack on labor unions.

The fight against labor will still go on but it will not be as bold or as open as the attack by General Motors. It will be carried on in the political arena as industry attempts to elect enough men to control Congress and pass whatever legislation it needs to defeat labor.

The next round will occur in the political campaigns this fall preceding the congressional elections in November. Labor will lose that round if it doesn't vote. And if it loses that round, it will have sustained a technical knockout. It will take a terrific beating.

In looking back over the strike it is easy to see several mistakes made by the Automobile Workers. It is always easy to see mistakes made by others when the battle is over.

They are mistakes which wise old Phil Murray did not make in the steel strike. That's what experience does for a man. And for his union.

In the first place, the Automobile Workers should not have pulled the pin late in 1945 when they knew the excess profits tax was to be repealed on January 1, 1946.

They should have known it was the best possible time for General Motors. General Motors could just shut down, as it did, knowing that most of the money it made

during the remainder of 1945 would have been paid to the government in excess profits.

So it preferred to defer production until 1946 when it could make more money. It seized the opportunity to starve the union into submission while the government paid the bill, thanks to the action of Congress in repealing the excess profits tax.

Neither was General Motors much worried about losing production in 1946 because this same Congress had guaranteed it further tax refunds if it failed to make "normal" profits during 1946.

So if General Motors loses money by the strike in 1946, the government will reward it by returning a large part of the excess profits taxes it paid during the war years.

Probably the strike would still be going on if the government had not filed criminal proceedings against the company for alleged violation of the anti-trust laws.

The leaders of the Automobile Workers' Union should have foreseen the possibility of a long strike and they should have been prepared for it.

They went into it without a big enough financial reserve and therefore the strikers suffered more than they should have.

Probably the greatest mistake the leaders of the union made was in expecting General Motors to bargain in good faith.

The facts prove that General Motors never had any such intention and that it pursued a policy of starving its workers.

It was a tough fight for the Automobile Workers.

But the company did not come through unscarred. Some of those scars will not heal for a long time. The prestige of General Motors suffered. It lost thousands of friends who may never drive a General Motors car again.

One mistake the union leadership did not

make was to let General Motors get away with its frenzied protestations that the union was trying to take over the business. It made capital of the rejection by General Motors of the President's fact-finding board recommendations and the corporation's refusal to show its books to the board.

By bringing the controversy over the corporation books into the open, the union aroused the suspicion that General Motors did not dare open its books and let the public know how much it was making on every car it sold.

And the actions of the corporation increased that suspicion.

The union also made the company squirm with its offer to withdraw its wage demands if the company could show it could not afford to pay the increase.

The union won public support with its demand that wage increases come out of excess profits of the corporation instead of

being passed on to the automobile buyer in higher prices for cars.

While the company spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in newspaper and radio advertising to discredit the union, it failed to convince the public that it was not making enormous profits, or that the union demands were not justified.

Its books would have told the story. But the books remained closed while the corporation shoveled out its money to confuse the public.

The union comes out of the strike in a strong position. It has won a hard fight and has held its lines. The automobile industry will remain organized.

The men on the picket lines who backed up their leaders and refused to surrender to propaganda or pressure are the men who actually won the struggle.

They are entitled to the applause of the union men of America.

## Stassen Helps General Motors Strikers

**H**AROLD E. STASSEN, former governor of Minnesota and a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1948, has startled reactionaries by serving on the national committee to feed the families of General Motors strikers.

It was a courageous thing for a candidate for political office to do. It undoubtedly infuriated the huge corporations who are trying to beat labor into submission. By serving on this relief committee, Mr. Stassen has injured his chances for the Republican presidential nomination because so many of the convention delegates will be controlled by the anti-labor corporations. They will fight him to the end.

It will be interesting to see whether they can control the Republican convention and defeat the man who befriended labor at a time when it needed friends so badly.

Mr. Stassen's fearlessness on this issue is

consistent with his record. When he was governor of Minnesota and his state was a hotbed of isolationist pro-German propaganda, Mr. Stassen disregarded his political interests to approve the defense program of President Roosevelt.

And he is serving with the widow of President Roosevelt on the committee to aid General Motors strikers, along with leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches.

At the peak of his political career, Mr. Stassen again forgot his political interests as well as his personal safety. He resigned the governorship of Minnesota to enter the navy. He served with distinction in the Pacific. At a time when political candidates are jumping like jack rabbits to escape controversial issues, it is refreshing, and it is encouraging, to encounter a man like Mr. Stassen.

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If workers relied only on newspaper-created public opinion to support their honest claims, they would still be living in slavery.—*The Bridgemen's Magazine*.

# Auto Workers Fought for AFL, too

## CIO Raids Deprived Strikers of AFL Contributions

THE CIO Automobile Workers did not receive the help they should have received from AFL unions during their long and costly strike with General Motors.

We say they should have received AFL help because they were fighting for the AFL as well as for themselves.

The defeat of a strong union in the automobile industry would have been a blow to organized labor as a whole. It would have thrown many AFL unions into immediate conflict with industry because industry would have reasoned that if a powerful union like the Automobile Workers could be defeated, all other unions could be defeated.

It would have cost many AFL unions much money and effort to resist the attacks of employers on other crafts.

The victory of the Automobile Workers showed employers what a difficult task it is to try to disorganize a strong union.

It would have been a far less costly strike to the employees of General Motors if labor had been united, instead of divided into hostile factions. Had that been the case, the treasuries of all AFL unions would have been opened to help the Automobile Workers.

There would have been less hardship on the individual strikers.

Although most AFL unions realized that the Auto Workers were entitled to their help, they hesitated to give it because of the raiding tactics of many CIO unions.

Take the Teamsters, for instance. What help could a CIO union expect from the Teamsters in Detroit in view of the raiding tactics of Samuel Wolchok of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America?

Instead of attempting to organize men who are not now organized and have no union protection, Wolchok invaded the jurisdiction of the Teamsters and began organizing milk drivers.

The enmity that created penalized the Auto Workers in the General Motors strike. Help that should have come from the Detroit Teamsters did not come because the membership was so enraged by CIO tactics against the milk drivers that they refused to contribute to the CIO, probably believing that the money might be used to finance another CIO raid.

High CIO leaders claim they cannot control Wolchok. That's an old familiar story. It's just an alibi. If the CIO leaders have no control over their men, then something is wrong with the CIO. If Wolchok started raiding other CIO unions, the CIO would take action. It would control Wolchok then. Why can't they do it, then, when he is raiding other legitimate unions?

They can. And the sooner they do it, the sooner will dawn the day when all of labor will be united under one banner to raise the standard of living for the underpaid millions of Americans who are not organized and are not adequately fed, warmly clothed or decently housed.

Let all labor leaders take warning that the fight on labor did not end with the defeat of General Motors. Any union which shows signs of weakness will be attacked by employers. Industrialists still hate labor as intensely as they ever did. They may have postponed their fight on labor but they have not abandoned it.

The biggest battles are yet to come.

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Inflation has to do with wages and prices as they relate to the cost of living. In an inflationary period, wages, prices, and the cost of living go up, but they do not rise at a steady pace; they go up faster and faster, in a sort of race, and at the end, the cost of living outstrips wage increases and increases in the prices received by farmers.—*Organized Labor, San Francisco.*

# Membership Hits 773,510!

## AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF INDIANA )  
COUNTY OF MARION } ss

I, Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, make the following statement of membership:

That the International Brotherhood of Teamsters received per capita tax for the month of February 1946 on 746,368 members.

That we received, in addition to the above, initiation fees on 27,142, making a total membership of

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public, in and for said County and State, this 12th day of March, 1946.

My commission expires Dec. 14, 1946

Marguerite McFayen  
Notary Public

# Monopolies Want to Fight Russia

## Promote Holy War to Gain Control of Russian Resources

THE official policy of the American Federation of Labor is opposed to Communism.

The official policy of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is the same, only more so.

It is written in our constitution that no member of the Communist party, "nor any person who subscribes to its doctrines," is eligible to membership in the Teamsters' Union.

We believe we are the only union whose constitution sets those qualifications for its membership.

Because we have been so forthright in our hostility to Communism, some people think we should be suckers for anti-Russian propaganda.

They think we should swallow the propaganda of the Christian Americans and the Ku Klux Klan for a holy war against "godless Russia."

They forget we have had experience with such organizations and we have found there is nothing more godless and less Christian than the Christian Americans and kindred organizations preaching intolerance.

We have found that behind these fronts of prejudice is a definite conspiracy against organized labor. They always drag in the union shop as a threat to the peculiar brand of Americanism they preach. It is no accident that they constantly refer to "Communist labor leaders."

Their intention is to create the conviction in the public mind that labor leaders are Communists. They believe that if they constantly associate these words, the public will eventually believe that all labor leaders are Communists.

Once so prejudiced, the crusade against Communism can be shifted into a crusade against labor.

That is why the program of the Christian Americans and allied organizations operating under other names is so often financed by the funds of industrialists.

That may be why it parallels so closely the program of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Certainly the National Association of Manufacturers is no missionary organization. Its funds are never spent to spread the gospel in heathen lands nor to fight godlessness in this country or anywhere else.

It is an association of hardboiled rich men, interested chiefly in becoming richer by extending the boundaries of their industrial empires to create monopolies in America and throughout the world.

There is one thing these men fear—labor. Because labor has become the voice of oppressed people throughout the world. It is the weapon with which economic slaves break the shackles of their bondage and become free and powerful, demanding an equitable distribution of the good things of life.

Equitable distribution of profits means more profit for labor and less for the industrial monopolies. Therefore industry fights the men who propose this fairer distribution. It calls them Communists.

Last August this magazine charged that American monopolists were attempting to create a breach between Russia and the United States. We charged that they were attempting to create a new war before the blood was dry on the graves of the last one.

Since then they have succeeded in fermenting wholesale suspicion of Russia. They have people openly discussing the probability of war with Russia. They have planted the seeds of fear in the minds of Americans. These seeds have flourished in the last few months.

Of course Russia hasn't helped matters any by her rough and realistic approach to the problems that confront her. But hearing all this war talk from the United States, what would you expect her to do?

She is doing exactly what any other nation would do under similar circumstances. She is getting ready. She is extending her frontiers. She is developing her heavy industry. She is increasing her military power. She is seeking the secrets of the weapons we are talking so freely of using against her.

If it is to be war, Russia will be ready for a conflict that will leave American cities in ruins and rim the horizons with the graves of American soldiers.

Maybe we could win it but at a price that would wipe free enterprise from the face of the earth and promote an age of godlessness unprecedented in history.

From the ashes of such a tragedy, Germany might rise again, unchallenged by her two major enemies who had beaten each other into exhaustion.

Do you begin to see where all this is leading?

And remember that some of our largest and richest corporations had such intimate ties with German industry that their international obligations to Germany transcended their fidelity to their own country.

Germany is attempting to rebuild these cartels. Her secret list of trusted friends throughout the world numbers 12,000,000 names. It was discovered but not revealed by our agents in Germany.

These 12,000,000 are not boobs or bums. They probably include some of the smartest and most ruthless business men in the world, scattered in key spots throughout Spain, Argentina, England, Canada and the United States.

They stirred up a "spy plot" in Canada that set the stage for Winston Churchill's speech in Missouri last month, advocating an imperialistic military alliance of Great Britain and the United States against Russia.

They are out in the open now.

Don't forget that American industry shuddered when labor won the last election in England and sent Churchill out on his ear.

Now they propose a scheme that would put Churchill back in power as the savior of the world against Communism. The chief difference between this program and Hitler's is that Hitler said it in German. We had to translate it. Now it is being said in English with the President of the United States sitting on the platform while Churchill spoke.

Churchill is generally recognized as the spokesman for the industrialists of England who espouse cartel agreements with German and American monopolies.

They are even attempting to rebuild Germany as a future ally in a war with Russia that they boldly plan.

Why do they do this? For two reasons.

First, Russia has most of the natural resources of the world. Unless those resources can be controlled, no international cartel can succeed. Russia could break the monopoly.

Secondly is the fear that if Russia succeeds in raising the standard of living in that country, the people of other nations will demand similar elevation of their standards of living. In other words, a fairer distribution of profits, for which labor is insisting.

A war with Russia would put American labor under rigid controls and end its demand for "a finger in the pie," which General Motors so loudly and expensively (in full-page newspaper ads) deplores.

American labor and British labor could be silenced and used to help the international cartels get possession of the Russian resources and eliminate the last barrier to their absolute control of the world.

So they reason.

They do not foresee the inevitable consequence of another war — chaos, Communism and anarchy.

There would be no church spires rising from that diseased, degraded and devastated world.

All this is being promoted in the name of a free enterprise that refuses to sell Henry

Kaiser steel for his automobiles because Kaiser signed a union contract.

Free enterprise to the steel industry evidently means the freedom to kill competition and maintain a monopoly.

Labor should scrutinize closely any man or organization that advocates war with Russia, or anybody else. If it looks closely enough it will unquestionably see the same old faces that hid behind the bed sheets of the Ku Klux Klan, that glowered with hatred at meetings of the German-American

Bund, that spread sedition under the patriotic slogans of America First and that never missed a chance to brand organized labor as Communistic.

All this propaganda might be cleared away like the morning mists before the sun if our government would release the names of all the Americans on that list of 12,000,-000 German sympathizers as Senator Kilgore of West Virginia is demanding.

What are they waiting for? Another Churchill speech?

## Senator Morse Attacks Republican Reactionaries

When Senator Taft of Ohio attacked President Truman's legislative program as "Communistic," it got a big play in the newspapers. When another Republican, Senator Morse of Oregon attacked Taft's remarks as reactionary, it wasn't such big news. You probably missed it. So here's what Senator Morse said:

"Senator Taft in his radio tirade against bi-partisan-sponsored progressive legislation, demonstrated in a frightening manner why the common men and women of America cannot look to the reactionary Republicans, who are seeking to control the Republican party, to protect and improve their standard of living.

"Taft demonstrated that his political and economic philosophy is the same as that of the reactionary Democrats now in control of the Democratic party.

"Fortunately for the country, there is growing hope that middle-of-the-road liberals within the Republican party will be

successful in returning that party to its traditional role of fighting for and advancing the best interests of all the men and women of America rather than just a privileged few. That fight can be won only if the millions of independent Republican voters and the millions of other independent voters make clear in the 1946 elections that they want a progressive and not a reactionary Congress.

"Until the Ohio gang, aided and abetted by other reactionary leaders, destroyed the public's confidence in the liberalism of the Republican party in the 1920's, the Republican party always stood for sound middle-of-the-road liberal policies and for championing the rights and interests of the common people. That is the essence of the liberal movement and to do it without destroying the legitimate rights of business and the private enterprise economy is a test of statesmanship under our form of representative government."

## Congressman LaFollette Flays "Southern Liberals"

Congressman Charles M. LaFollette of Indiana drew the applause of an AFL state gathering recently with his definition of southern liberals and northern conservatives.

Mr. LaFollette appeared as the principal speaker at the AFL assembly following the announcement of his candidacy for the

United States senate as a radical Republican. "A southern liberal is the most farsighted person in the world, he can see all the misery and anti-democratic practices in the Balkans but none in Alabama," said Mr. LaFollette.

"The only thing worse is a northern conservative. He can't see them anywhere."

# *Wounded Captain is Decorated*

## **President of Chicago Dairy Local Receives Medals**

**O**N THE opposite page you see Capt. August Burnier, president of Dairy Employees' Union No. 754 of Chicago, receiving the Silver and Bronze stars from Lieut. Col. J. G. Allen of the Sixth Service Command.

The formal presentation of the medals was recognition of the heroism of Capt. Burnier during the final furious battles that brought Germany down in defeat.

He lost his left leg below the knee in the action that won him the Silver Star. Although the lower part of his left leg was gone and his right leg riddled with shrapnel, Capt. Burnier wrote President Tobin from a French hospital five weeks later that his wounds were "not serious" and that he would soon be back on the job in Chicago.

He lamented that he had been put out of action but philosophized that he had spent 60 days in combat, which was "much longer than the average."

Now, 18 months later, Capt. Burnier is back in Chicago, resuming his union duties but not as agile as he courageously hoped to be when he wrote President Tobin from the hospital in France. He was re-elected president of Local No. 754 while he was still in Vaughan General Hospital recovering from his battle wounds.

The wounds which Capt. Burnier received in the action that won him the Silver Star were sustained in the driving rain of an October night within 15 feet of the dragon teeth of the Siegfried Line, barring the advance of the Americans into Germany.

Capt. Burnier was leading a heavy machine gun platoon of the 22d Infantry regiment near Udenbreth, Germany, on October 10, 1944. His platoon was to dig in to provide support for an attack by the American army on the Siegfried Line.

The location assigned to Capt. Burnier had been partially cleared of mines but on

his arrival, Capt. Burnier saw a better location for the machine gun post in an adjoining field which had not been cleared.

Instead of assigning his men to the dangerous task of reconnoitering the field, the officer went himself. He stepped on a mine which blew a leg out from under him.

As he lay critically wounded, Capt. Burnier gave instructions for preparing the machine gun position and did not consent to removal until assured that his platoon was properly prepared for its mission.

The Bronze Star was awarded for action near Buchet, Germany, on September 16, 1944. On that occasion an enemy patrol had penetrated the flank of Capt. Burnier's battalion. It had located the mortar positions of the heavy weapons company which the Chicago Teamster commanded. The location was passed to the German artillery, which opened up.

The artillery fire inflicted heavy casualties. Capt. Burnier crawled through the falling shells to administer first-aid.

Capt. Burnier entered the service as a private in September, 1942. He won promotions steadily and after the St. Lo breakthrough was given command of the heavy weapons company of the 22d Infantry.

Men of this regiment were the first to penetrate the Siegfried line and the first to enter Germany.

As the bleeding officer lay in the mud in the shadow of the German fortifications that October night he was approached by one of his sergeants, who said gruffly:

"You're a brave man, captain. You went out in that field to make sure there were no mines there before you sent us out there. We love you for it and we ain't ever going to forget it."

Capt. Burnier values those words more highly than the decorations he received. He will never forget them, either.



**TWO STARS—SILVER AND BRONZE**—Capt. August Burnier, on crutches, is receiving the Bronze and Silver Stars for bravery in combat. He narrowly missed a Gold Star when a German mine blew off his left leg below the knee. Lieut. Col. J. G. Allen is presenting the medals. Capt. Burnier is president of Local No. 754.

## Teamsters to Charter Garage Mechanics

**W**E HAVE official notice that the Machinists, by a large majority, in their referendum vote decided to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor. This is not news to us; we expected it. Our purpose in writing now is to inform our membership that we have several applications for a charter with our International Union from the mechanics or repair men who work in garages where our trucks are put up or where our trucks come in and go out. Many of these unions have formerly been, and perhaps are now, chartered by the Machinists' Union.

We helped to organize 95 per cent of this class of worker. The Machinists could have got nowhere in organizing this type of worker in garages owned and operated by our truck owners if it had not been for the power of the truck drivers' union. For a number of years we had an understanding or agreement with the Machinists that we would work together with this class of worker, and that we would render each other as much help as we could.

Those men claim that they want to be members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters now that the International Association of Machinists has withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor with its 7,000,000 members; that because of jurisdictional trouble they can no longer remain in affiliation with the Machinists' Union. They will either go independent or affiliate with some other union.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters does not desire to encroach on the legitimate jurisdiction of any labor organization; but, in order to protect itself against stoppages of work by outside organizations, and in order to insure continuous employment to our membership, and to protect the interests of our members, the Teamsters' Union cannot allow an outside, independent organization to get into the garages.

Therefore, we are advising our people wherever there are men of this type who desire affiliation with the Teamsters that provisions be made by joint councils, or those who represent the organization in the district, to inform those people that they can procure a charter. It is my mature judgment that we made a mistake in the first place by letting another organization inside our garages, thereby endangering our employment.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
General President.

# Senator Kilgore Backs Health Bill

## Refutes Charge of "Socialism" by Reactionary Doctors

BY HARLEY M. KILGORE

United States Senator from West Virginia

HERE is much talk in the air today about a new health measure called the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. A lot of the talk is confusing and misleading—purposely so. The vested interests of medicine are opposed to it, since they think it will infringe on some of their private prerogatives, and they are spending literally millions of dollars in an all-out campaign to mislead the people on its aims and purposes, and consequently to defeat it.

What are the aims and purposes of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill? Its sponsors start off with this very simple and very democratic thesis: *You and all Americans should be able to get the best medical care and advice whenever you need it, regardless of cost.*

I do not need to tell you that most of you cannot do so today; you know it yourself. Doctors are expensive. Medicines also are costly. Even to get a physical check-up to make sure that everything is in good condition costs a lot of money. And when you really get sick, or members of your family do, you are likely to go clean broke paying the bills.

Most members of the Teamsters' Union have workmen's compensation. Some of you certainly have had occasion to make use of it. It takes care of your expenses and your wage losses when you suffer an injury on the job. Workmen's compensation is paid for by your employers and by the state

governments. Actually, in the long run, it is paid for by you, since the money the employer pays could otherwise be paid you in small—very small—wage raises.

But the point is, you actually save money when the employer kicks in with a few cents a month of your possible maximum earnings, and pays them into what really is an accident insurance fund. Medical and surgical bills, together with some repayment of wage loss, is *prepaid* by the companies on the basis of the number of men they employ.

Maybe you never have had an accident. Maybe you never have had to make use of workmen's compensation. But you know it is there, and you know you are insured against out-of-pocket expenses in the event you should suffer an injury on the job. Any man would be willing to lay aside a few cents a month to insure him-

self against the costs of injuries, and that is what workmen's compensation is—insurance.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is more of the same. It provides a very broad and general extension of the principle of workmen's compensation or of any other insurance plan. The extension works two ways. First, if the bill is passed you will be insured against the costs of off-job injuries and of all types of illness. Second, not only you, as a worker, will be insured, but also every



Senator Kilgore

member of your family. The major difference between the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and workmen's compensation is that the government will pay the doctor and the hospital, whereas under workmen's compensation the state usually pays you a certain amount and you have to pay your own bills.

The proposed new law guarantees complete prepaid medical care to every American, regardless of age, sex, occupation, race, color, creed, or income. Under it you will have complete freedom of choice of any doctor who agreed to cooperate with the plan. The doctor will also be free, as now, to accept or reject patients. All that will happen is that the government, acting as a tremendous insurance company, will pay the doctor or the hospital or both for the costs of your medical and surgical care. You yourself will pay only about 1½ per cent of your wages into the Social Security Fund, just as now you pay a certain amount for unemployment and old age insurance. Your employer will pay in another 1½ per cent, and the government itself will contribute 1 per cent—a total of 4 per cent, which will be ample to pay all medical and surgical expenses.

Never again, if the bill becomes law, will you suddenly be faced with the need of finding several hundred dollars for an emergency operation, or maybe a thousand or so for a long and expensive illness, that might affect you or some member of your family. Whenever such an emergency arises, the government will foot the bill, since you and all the rest of the American people will have paid the government first, on the insurance principle.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill provides several other new benefits in the medical and health field, such as better programs of public health work, better clinics for mothers and children, free medical care for the impoverished, more public health officers and public health nurses for America's cities, towns, and country areas, and so on. But the most important part of the bill is that which provides good medical care for all Americans.

Medical reactionaries love to call this measure "socialized medicine." It is not! Since it gives you absolutely free choice of your doctor and gives the doctor freedom to accept or refuse you as a patient—conditions which are essential to free medicine—the bill can in no way be called socialistic.

Neither, since the doctors are not paid salaries by the government, but collect fees from the social insurance fund for services performed, can the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill be called "state medicine," another phrase the status-quo boys of the medical profession like to use. Under state medicine, all doctors would be salaried by the government. No such proposal is even hinted at in this bill.

This is good "democratic medicine." The bill will provide for every American the chance he needs to achieve and maintain good health, regardless of cost. In accomplishing that, it is in the straight line of our democratic traditions, our traditions of cooperation and equality of opportunity, and our trade union traditions of mutual responsibility on a fraternal basis. It deserves your solid support.

## Washington Union Leader Given Medal

Robert C. Lester, president of Joint Council No. 55, Washington, D. C., has recently been awarded a medal by the United States Treasury Department for "outstanding work in war and victory bond campaigns."

Mr. Lester is also financial secretary of

the Washington Central Labor Union and treasurer of the Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.

The medal carries an engraving of the famous flag-raising on Iwo Jima on one side and on the other the inscription—"For patriotic service—War Finance—1941-1945."

# *Reasonably High Dues Advisable*

## **Members Warned Against Promoters of Social Clubs**

BY DANIEL J. TOBIN

**W**E HAVE always been in favor of reasonably high dues within local unions. The minimum in our union is two dollars per month per member. The International Union receives only 30 cents out of this two dollars. That 30 cents we use for the publication of our journal, for organizers, for our legal department, for our publicity department, and for our research department.

All of these departments help us when we are arguing with clever lawyers or government representatives on wages and working conditions in which our members are involved.

I repeat, the International gets very little of the dues, but I do hate to see a local union with a treasury always down to its last dollar.

We want local unions to build up their treasuries so that if they run into trouble—as they may through lawsuits, strikes or embarrassments of many kinds—they will not have to go begging to their sister local unions who have had brains enough to build up their local treasuries.

Never mind about the CIO only charging 50 cents and one dollar a month dues or accepting men on cut rates. It is our business to run our unions and not to bother our heads with what the other fellows are doing. The best proof of our success in our method of procedure is what we have done for our members and what we have done towards building up that membership, individually and collectively.

Neither do I believe in dues that are too high or that may be looked upon as extortionate, if there is any such condition existing. Dues should be reasonably high, but dues or initiation fees should not be too high. If a local union is paying a death

benefit of \$500, it seems to me that the membership should be expected to pay about six or seven dollars a year for that benefit. Sick and unemployment benefits are not as important now as they were years ago when we had no Social Security and when we had no unemployment insurance.

I am not in love with the method of having temporary medical care and paying three or four dollars per year per member to a doctor or a number of doctors. The reason I am in favor of governmental medical insurance, service and supervision is that my experience with some of the doctors and their clinics is that the service is not at all A-1, and that in many instances top-notch medical men are not treating their patients or clients as they should be treated and taken care of.

There are certain principles and purposes embodied in a labor union and those principles and purposes should not be forgotten. We should remain as closely anchored to the original intent of the unions as possible, and that is to better the wages and working conditions of our membership.

All the other many fads that now seem to be creeping into the labor movement are window dressing, and in some instances have a purpose behind them that is sometimes difficult to penetrate or interpret.

We have found recently that some beautiful names have been given to certain labor clubs, etc. Suppers or social gatherings at a very low rate are instituted and after the beer or coffee is finished, the clever manipulators who have promoted this meeting arise and with glowing words of welcome and praise and gratefulness they start out to inject their doctrines of dissension and distrust amongst the so-called good fellows and

comrades, and they find it very easy, in many instances, to talk and berate trusted officers who have been properly elected, when those officers are 2,000 miles away from the scene of the festivities, for which the membership is paying.

In those gatherings there are also other insidious and dangerous doctrines injected. Very often the seeds are sown of, "Let us not forget Spain," and "Let us mind our own business and let Spain take care of her affairs," "Let us remember the sacrifices Russia made for us" (this by the Communistic agents); "Let us tell England that she did not pay us what we loaned her in the first World War," and all these other so-called appealing, reasoning arguments and statements that have an effect on the average unthinking, unwatchful, ordinary good trade union member.

They are left in his mind, and after the handshaking and expressions of hope for similar future gatherings, the individual goes home believing there is something wrong with his union and with his government.

So I go back to my original statement that it would be well for unions to confine

themselves as much as possible to the original intent and purpose for which trade unions were created—bettering the wages and working conditions of our members, and making a better life for them and their families.

If you sometimes want to attend a social gathering called in the name of the union, investigate and if you cannot find out yourself, contact your local or International officials in the district.

Hundreds of our good citizens joined the "America First" organization at the beginning of the war and other beautifully named organizations, without making an investigation. Those organizations were deceptively created for the purpose of injuring our country and helping Germany. Some of those individuals deeply regretted the fact that they did not investigate. The same can happen to members of our trade union movement.

Don't listen to the oily tongues of those disguised reptiles calling you to social gatherings for which you are expected to pay 50 cents or one dollar, and where they inject their poisonous venom into you, sending you on your way home distrustful of everybody.

## Battle Echoes Bring Three More Deaths

Echoes of past battles continued to roll into International headquarters last month bringing the names of three more Teamsters killed in action. This raises to 512 the number of men from this union whose deaths have been reported to International headquarters.

Many local unions have so far failed to report their war deaths, thereby leaving the Gold Star record of the Teamsters' Union incomplete.

Deaths reported last month were:

DAVID W. LANCASTER, Local No.

431, Fresno, Cal. Killed in action on Okinawa in May, 1945.

WILLIAM HARDT, Local No. 754, Chicago. Killed on Luzon on January 26, 1945.

HARRISON H. VOGEL, Local No. 249, Pittsburgh. Killed in France on February 5, 1945, by the explosion of a fragmentation grenade. He was in the field artillery.

The deaths of Brothers Lancaster and Hardt were reported by their local secretaries. The death of Brother Vogel was reported by his mother, Mrs. Elsie P. Vogel, in a letter to International headquarters.

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During the war years and before, labor has made concerted efforts to protect the stake of the consumer in collective bargaining. Time after time labor has sacrificed gains that might have thrown the nation's price structure out of gear.

—Camden (N. J.) *Union Reporter*.

# Chicago Teamsters Take the Air

## Joint Council Sponsors Weekly Radio Show

THE 75,000 members of the 50 Teamster locals in Joint Council No. 25 have added a meaningful page to the history of labor and public relations with the airing of "The Spice of Life" over the Voice of Labor Station, WCFL, each Sunday at 3:30 p. m.

"The Spice of Life" offers a star-studded array of talent to listeners throughout Greater Chicago—an area that includes the counties of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Kankakee, Lake, Will and Winnebago. Regularly featured on the program are Carl Schreiber and his orchestra; Ruth Marion, vocalist; The Team Mates, double quartet; and Jack Fuller, master of ceremonies.

A truly unique feature of the show is the manner in which the "commercials" are presented. Each Sunday the services of a different union are highlighted by means of dramatically enacted stories. Written and produced to fit the needs of the specific locals, these human interest dramas have thus far depicted:

1. The tale of a milkman who, characteristically serving the community over and above the call of duty, courageously braved fire to save a life.

2. Episodes in the lives of taxicab drivers who, with humor, understanding and good fellowship, are always on the job serving the public.

3. The adventures of a typical family that for generations has relied on the laundry and cleaning drivers to help solve life's big and little problems.

4. A panorama of the meat industry, portraying the myriad and great contributions of meat drivers and their helpers. This, despite the fact that this Teamster group constitutes only one-half of one per cent of the thousands employed in the meat business.

Furthermore, "The Spice of Life" attains a distinctive keynote with the informal, in-

formative interviews between the master of ceremonies and official representatives of the council's various units. Among them have been Frank Brown, James Kennedy, George Marcie, Jean Frank and John O'Brien. Several of these leaders have, in turn, presented veterans of World War II now returning to their Teamster jobs.

"The Spice of Life" is evidently as good to look at as it is to listen to, for each Sunday finds Chicago's Eighth Street Theater, from which the broadcasts originate, packed with an enthusiastic audience.

No effort has been spared to publicize and promote this entertaining and educational program. Metropolitan and community newspapers have gone all-out in giving space to newsworthy items. Photographs of members of the cast are being used with appropriate comment by a variety of columnists, and such helps as milk bottle collars, window stickers and package inserts are calling Mr. and Mrs. Consumer's (and Junior's) attention to the show.

Listeners and interest are building every day. Already "The Spice of Life" is listed among the "program highlights" for Sunday entertainment. Typical critical comment runs as follows:

"It is a noteworthy effort to dramatize the work of member unions."—*Chicago Daily News*.

"Maybe you didn't know, but your milkman . . . is a good neighbor, ready to help in emergencies. To put this point across . . . to describe the incidents in the daily routine of other drivers as well . . . unions are taking to the airways . . . streamlining their public relations policies."—*Chicago Times*.

"Tearing a page from management's book on public relations, the Chicago Joint Council of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters bowed on WCFL, Chi's A. F. of

L.-owned station last week. . . . The context presaged a nice run. It's the first time in Chi that a council made up of 50 union locals has done anything like it."—*Variety*.

Thomas Haggerty, William Hicks and William Lee are members of the joint council publicity committee responsible for the show. They concur in the idea that, "This

will be a new step in labor relations, not only to union families and members, but to millions of radio listeners on the grand job labor has done throughout the war, and what great service they continue to do by their daily occupations and the part they play in the progress of their various communities."

## Bumbling Bricker Is a Candidate Again

John Bricker is back in the ring again warming up the old act. He's hoping time and events will play into his favor this time. He hasn't forgotten his old friends, either.

And he's hoping they haven't forgotten him. It takes a lot of money to run for the U. S. Senate, which is John's current goal.

The opening gun of his campaign was, as usual, on a subject he knows very little about.

And, as usual, he bungled because he chose to attack the one government agency which has done a great job of looking out for the welfare of the common people during the war emergency.

He singled out the OPA to blame for the current critical housing shortage. He wants price controls on building supplies removed so that the cost of new houses will shoot skyward to a point where only people like his backers, the Duponts and Morgans, can afford them.

He didn't mention the fact that realtors

and contractors have refused to build houses unless they could make exorbitant profits.

And those profits lay in the more expensive homes, like John's in Upper Arlington, an exclusive suburb of Columbus, which prohibits residence on the basis of race or color. The builders won't put up less expensive houses so long as the profits on houses like Bricker's are greater.

That's why there are no houses for the average citizen and returning soldier.

John's speech might have pleased his affluent backers. But its effect on the voters whom he needs to get elected will be to turn them hopefully to the Democratic candidate, no matter who he may be.

They don't call him John Bumbling Bricker for nothing.

We hope he keeps up the good work. He won't be so hard to beat.

If there's one thing this country doesn't need, it's John Bricker in the U. S. Senate.  
—*The Ohio Teamster*.

## Camden Teamsters Aid Boys' Club Program

Camden, N. J., Teamsters have joined in the fight against juvenile delinquency by assisting in the organization of clubs for boys. The headquarters of Local No. 676 was recently turned over to an organization meeting for a group of boys ranging in age from 10 to 21.

The boys elected officers and then organized an athletic program of boxing and wrestling in the Teamster building, supple-

mented by such indoor sports as chess, checkers and pool.

The boys' club program is headed by a city policeman, Frank Nelson, and operates under social service agencies with active support of the city's labor unions.

President Frank E. Weaver of Local No. 676 was commended by the social service agencies for the assistance of the Teamsters in making the boys' club program a success.

# Foremen Entitled to Protection

## Teamster Economist Addresses Industrial Lawyers

BY DAVID KAPLAN

*Chief Economist, International Brotherhood of Teamsters*

This is an address given by Mr. Kaplan to the Trades and Commerce Bar Association in New York. The attorneys for industry asked Mr. Kaplan to explain the union position on several controversial issues. The excellent manner in which Mr. Kaplan did so should promote better understanding and more harmonious relations between labor and management.

HERE are many provinces of management in which workers do not seek to interfere. Among them are corporate organization, selection of officers, business financing.

Despite the existence of large areas in which managerial discretion is not limited by collective bargaining, and even though it may be socially desirable that it should not be, I would deem it an unfortunate mistake to begin to define these fields and set them up as provinces of managerial prerogative forever to be excluded from collective bargaining processes.

Let me hasten to add, however, that despite any provocation, unions should not interfere with the right of an employer to select a lawyer as his freely chosen representative for collective bargaining purposes.

Lawyers, accountants, engineers and economists can draw some fine lines of demarcation between what should be exclusively a part of the managerial prerogative and what may be a proper subject for collective bargaining, but it will make no difference.

If what they define as part of the managerial prerogative should threaten or appear to threaten the security of workers as to their union organization, job opportunities, tenure of employment, wages or conditions of work, the workers will seek protection through attempts to limit the employers' arbitrary discretion in that field, regardless of what we call it or say about it.

Where such threats do not exist, there will be no trouble unless intellectuals elevate

the subject into a conflict of principle and sell it to the parties as essential to their interest. This is a good "make work" device for intellectuals, but is hardly conducive to industrial harmony.

Fights over prerogatives are always the most bitter. The merits of an issue are invariably submerged in polemics over assumptions and principles. From management's side it always appears as a struggle to be free from the dictation of arbitrary labor leaders; from the workers' side as a struggle of democracy against autocracy.

Remember that practically all subjects now covered by labor agreements were at one time considered exclusively within the prerogative of management. Labor unions and collective bargaining developed only through limiting these prerogatives.

Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard University, in describing one aspect of collective bargaining, called it a "method of introducing civil rights into industry"; that is, of "requiring that management be conducted by rule rather than by arbitrary decision."

Business men who, in the name of democracy will call upon Congress and the people to place curbs on the executive power of the federal government wherever it limits their freedom, frequently are unable to distinguish the process of democracy when it functions through a labor union to threaten some heretofore unchallenged managerial prerogative. Some are completely baffled

by such a turn of events. They act hurt and cannot understand how it could happen to them. They show surprise when a worker thinks like a worker instead of like an owner, or efficiency engineer.

Management will live with its workers for years and then gasp in utter astonishment and dismay at some new demand which a union will insist upon. They are sure it could not originate or have any support among their workers, but must be a clever scheme of some outside agitator or union boss seeking to usurp power.

Because employment is affected by many factors, an enlightened self-interest would actuate workers to know them all and appraise their effects and also the interaction of their own rules on the total job territory. But many of these forces are remote and indirect, many of them are extremely complicated and workers are not economists. They react to their immediate interests. They cannot wait for the economists' "in the long run" doctrines to work out, for instinctively they feel like the wit who averred that "in the long run we will all be dead."

The present controversy over the supervisor and collective bargaining recapitulates to a degree the entire struggle of labor to achieve civil rights in industry. For here the issue is not whether the supervisor shall be restrained from imposing any particular rules on management which may be considered onerous, but whether he should participate at all in the fundamental right to organize, choose representatives and bargain collectively.

Management's contentions against recognizing such rights with respect to supervisory employees are mainly that:

1. Supervisory personnel are so closely identified with management in the administration of rules that they cannot also be a part of the group on whom the rules are imposed. They should not have divided allegiance; and

2. That unionization of supervisory personnel would hamper efficiency.

There is not, in my opinion, much merit

in the first contention. It is like saying that a civil servant cannot also be a citizen.

With respect to the second contention, it might very well be that rules which might be imposed in collective bargaining dealing with tenure of employment, pay, and promotions may dull the incentive of supervisors to get more production, but that is not a foregone conclusion.

Each side has its say in collective bargaining and satisfactory techniques may be worked out between them. Moreover, the conflict between democracy and efficiency pervades the whole industrial scene, wherever unionism is involved, and should not be used as a special means of depriving supervisory employees of their fundamental rights.

The dualism surrounding supervisory employees in relationship to the National Labor Relations Act troubled the board appointed to administer that act. This dualism grew out of the requirement that employers should not interfere with, influence or coerce their employees in their rights to organize, choose representatives and bargain collectively.

In many complaints brought before the National Labor Relations Board the coercion, interference, and influence which the employer was found to have practiced was entirely due to the activity of supervisory personnel.

Can such personnel be so closely identified with management in one case, and then be entitled to the benefits of the Act as an employee in another case?

The board finally decided they can.

Nowhere has the ability of the lawyer to argue both sides of an issue been better demonstrated than in the foremen's cases before the NLRB. The employers' attorneys, who could see no vital relationship to management in a complaint case, suddenly saw an unbreakable tie in a representation case. The lawyers for labor and for the administration were equally ambivalent. The significance of the foremen's cases were misconstrued in many quarters. They did

not determine whether supervisory employees had the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Many such supervisory personnel were already organized and had a long history of participation as employees in collective bargaining. It merely determined whether disputes over representation and recognition when affecting supervisory employees could be adjudicated peacefully by the tribunal set up under the National Labor Relations Act or would be resolved only through industrial strife.

Workers limit the freedom of employers to hire and fire mainly to protect their union from attack through discrimination against its members and to strengthen the union by making membership a condition of employment.

Control over the opportunity to work can determine whether a union will be strong or weak or even survive. Struggles for union security are often looked upon by union men as struggles over the life or death of their organization and for the whole system of rights already achieved or in their aspirations to be achieved by it.

The failure of a union to obtain security through adequate controls over hiring and firing might force it to get security through other means. The railroad unions, who have no closed-shop protection, have developed stronger seniority systems than most unions to control layoffs, promotions and transfers.

Many employers have found that granting a closed-shop agreement brought about union stability and in time lessened rather than multiplied their difficulties. A union whose status is uncertain cannot effectively discipline refractory minorities, and cannot be depended upon by management when cooperation is needed. Granting status to unions makes it better able to grant status to management.

Unions restrict the freedom of employers in making layoffs to protect union men against reprisals, to abolish favoritism, to defend the weak and to establish security against fluctuations in employment.

The unrestrained power to choose the men to be laid off has been used by employers to get rid of active union men. It has been used by foremen to favor friends and bosses' pets and was used as a whip to get greater production by laying off the slower, older and less physically fit workers.

This not only rid the employer of the less efficient workers, but also tended to stimulate the others to greater productivity to keep in the good graces of the boss. The suspicion with which many unions still regard physical examinations grows more out of the fear that it will deprive the less physically fit of the membership of the opportunity to earn a livelihood than out of the fear that it will be used to discriminate against union men.

There are two principal, and at times contradictory, methods used by unions to control layoffs during slack periods—equal division of work, and seniority.

Equal division of work can be applied through rotating workers on the job or through lowering hours. Seniority is used as an impartial, impersonal method of selecting the workers to be dropped. This method concentrates the incidence of layoffs on the junior employees in term of service. Sometimes both methods are combined, seniority being used until workers of a certain number of years of seniority are reached and then the principle of equal division of work applied.

Out of the system of seniority has grown the concept of a worker's property right in the job. The payment of dismissal compensation for workers permanently dropped is based on such a concept.

Management complains that union rules lower efficiency and curb production. Frequently this complaint is based on very narrow ideas of efficiency.

For example, the discharge of older, slower and less fit workers, without regard to seniority, might increase output in a particular plant, but might actually reduce output industry-wide. These workers must earn a living, and obviously they would be more

efficient at work in which they had some experience and training than on jobs in which they had none. The resistance that workers make to the "speed up" has great social benefit in making efficiency methods more humane.

Management is always tempted to think of labor in terms of a factor of production and in terms of costs. Through collective bargaining regarding work schedules and wage payment systems, the worker projects into industry insistence on the recognition that he is not merely a producing machine but a citizen, a parent and a consumer.

To be truly efficient in a social way, principles of production must take that into consideration. Industry makes men as well as goods! A system of production which promotes overexhaustion and feelings of insecurity to the point where it deprives workers of the capacity to be good parents and good citizens is not socially efficient regardless of how it might spur the output of goods in any particular plant.

In terms of social efficiency a worker's output must be considered not in terms of output per hour, output per day, but in terms of output for a lifetime.

When we charge workers with wasteful practices in order to stretch employment, let us not overlook the fact that the most colossal waste is unemployment. Nothing that unions have done foolishly or wisely can approach the massive cost to society in goods and human suffering of our great depressions.

In the effort to protect the worker against fluctuations of employment growing out of changing techniques, unions have further limited the discretion of management. Because of this they have frequently been charged with standing in the way of progress. But such a charge should not be leveled at the workers alone.

Business organizations also seek to protect themselves against the ravages of changing techniques and methods. Railroad

companies fight against the improvement of our waterways and highway systems and seek to place curbs on motor transportation. Small stores try to limit the encroachment of the chain stores and super-markets. Insurance companies oppose extension of Social Security. Independent banks fight the system of branch banking.

We have to recognize the existence of a conflict between efficiency and security in industrial relations. No doubt there are instances when the security would prove a greater social asset than the increased output of goods. Nevertheless it is certainly desirable that as much as possible of this conflict be reconciled.

That such reconciliation can be achieved through collective bargaining is evidenced by the changing attitudes of many unions to piecework, to time studies, and the introduction of new devices. Policies of outright opposition are giving way to policies of control.

The ways of democracy come hard to management. It is always easier to rule by decree than to have policy-making abridged and controlled by rules.

It means adding the problems of government to a management conditioned mainly to think of production in engineering terms. What seems so clear from an engineering or efficiency viewpoint becomes very complex when the human problems brought in by democracy have to be dealt with. It is a hard way, but it is the right way.

The day when the boss's word was law regardless of its effects on the community of workers is gone forever. Let no one think that this means the defeat of efficiency. Concepts of efficiency which merely shift costs from an enterprise to the workers or to the community is not true efficiency. When the workers develop a consciousness that increased productivity will better, rather than worsen their lot, then you will get real efficiency, for, as Justice Brandeis has said, "efficiency depends upon consent."

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Private enterprise, rather than labor, is on trial in this present crisis.

—The St. Louis Labor Tribune.

## **Labor Watches Republicans**

**T**HE inclination of labor to support SOME Republican candidates next fall is being misunderstood by the Republican party. The party leaders seem to think it means that labor will support ALL Republican candidates.

They will soon realize their mistake, but it may be too late to do them any good.

Labor has made no commitments. It has merely said it would vote for liberal Republicans running against reactionary Democrats. There are not many liberal Republicans. Thus labor has declared its intention to vote for only a few Republicans.

Those few liberal Republicans may have difficulty getting their party nominations. If the Republicans insist on killing off their own liberals, then labor has no choice but to continue voting against Republican candidates.

The key to labor's future action lies in the Indiana Republican convention in Indianapolis on June 13.

On that day the senatorial candidacy of Congressman Charles M. La Follette will be officially laid before the Republican delegates. He will ask them to nominate him as the Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Mr. La Follette is a proven friend of labor. He has the friendship of all factions of organized labor in Indiana. They want to vote for him for senator. If he is nominated, there is no question of his election. Several hundred thousand labor votes will immediately swing behind him.

Indiana advertises itself as the banner Republican state of the nation. The Republicans of the nation are watching to see what Indiana does on June 13.

So is organized labor.

If the Republicans reject a sure winner because he is a friend of labor, that fact will be proclaimed throughout the country.

It will mean that the bosses of the Republican party would rather lose without labor than to win with it.

In the face of such an ultimatum, labor would have no choice but to stay outside the Republican party. That would be no disaster for labor. Labor has done pretty well outside the Republican party these last 14 years.

In fact, it wasn't until the Republicans went out of office in 1932 that we began to eat regularly again.

We do not intend to go back on a Hoover diet in 1946.

We want a La Follette diet.

Which will the Republicans offer us?

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